

ries of policemen wounded or slaughtered in the line of duty, facing hostile crowds alone, stepping into dark alleyways, or digging hard to identify a murderer are all delivered with the same candor, breeding a confidence that these tales, which show the toughness of the policeman's job and the courage of the men who carry the badge, are not overdrawn.

Read in conjunction with *The Police Establishment*, Klein's book thus provides a volume of case studies that add detail to Turner's insights. Although critical of police insularity and fearful of the ingroup code which shields the erring brother policeman, Turner acknowledges that the realities of physical danger, along with the hypocrisy of public attitudes toward the police, provide much of the explanation for the wall of isolation behind which most police forces remain.

Lieutenant Klein makes the case that the policeman is the man in the middle, standing between an apathetic society on one hand and the underworld on the other. Turner agrees that this is indeed the policeman's position but adds that it need not be. In Turner's opinion one reason for the policeman's being the man in the middle is that he is a man apart, identifying with the bluecoat subculture rather than with the society he serves.

To illustrate alternatives to this situation, Turner cites men like deputy chief James Fisk in Los Angeles and San Francisco's Dante Andreotti, who have faced opposition and setbacks in their own departments because of their forward-looking attitudes. Others could be added, like Wesley Pomeroy and the many lesser-known officers who possess a vision of the ideal

role of the policeman strong enough to free them from the code and the subculture.

The wall of isolation, described by Klein at the bottom and by Turner at the top, still exists today, shored up by the old guard from within and by both blind criticism and blind support from without. An exciting and very important question facing American society is whether or not, in our time, that wall can be surmounted by the new breed of policemen and by constructive scrutiny and constructive support from the public.

DAVID W. CRAIG

Professor of Administration,  
School of Urban and Public Affairs,  
Carnegie-Mellon University

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**The Police on the Urban Frontier,**  
*George Edwards*, Pp. 90. New York,  
Institute of Human Relations Press,  
1968. \$1.

On the basis of his many years of intimate experience with police and law-enforcement problems, his faith in society and its individual communities, and his trust in the overriding sanity and goodwill of most of our nation's citizens, George Edwards, former Detroit Police Commissioner and now a judge on the Sixth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals, has written a frank, critical, and compact treatise on present and future police and community relations. The core of the book is a discussion of the causes of and possible solutions to the problem of the relationship between police and ghetto residents:

The policeman, whose mission it is to guard the peace, walks uneasily in the ghetto. What worries him is not so much the ordinary criminal; usually he feels he

can cope with lawbreakers, whose apprehension is his main job. He fears, rather, the very people he is there to protect. For many otherwise law-abiding ghetto dwellers are openly hostile to him; many refuse to cooperate with him in maintaining law and order; and on occasion some may attack him.

Following a clear analysis of the situation, Judge Edwards makes a number of cogent proposals for bridging the gap between the police and ghetto residents. Among his recommendations are greater police professionalization; elimination of certain unnecessary and abusive practices; clearly defined, disciplined use of force; increased and more effective law enforcement in high crime areas; intelligent and organized race-riot control planning in alliance with area residents; continuing courteous daily communications between police and all sectors of the community; and the stimulation of citizen support for and involvement in law enforcement.

The bridge itself is unassailable. The bond holding it together is "a comprehensive program for increasing the professional caliber and effectiveness of local police forces." But one critical structural element appears to be missing—the foundation upon which that bridge rests. Neither Judge Edwards' analysis of the policeman's admittedly complex tasks nor his recommendations for more adequately meeting these tasks take into account the cultural, psychological, and sociological background of the person who becomes a policeman. We know that person by his uniform, his duties, his powers, and his responsibilities. But too often we forget who he was before he donned the uniform. That and the oath of office do not work a metamorphosis. He does not thereby become a professional police-

man, nor will Judge Edwards' recommendations significantly increase his professional caliber, unless I misunderstand what attributes constitute professionalism.

The man in blue is, normally, a member of the blue-collar culture. Whether he is white, black, Puerto Rican, chicano, or of any other ethnic or racial group, he almost certainly comes from a blue-collar family background. This is important, for in order to understand the policeman's conception of his role *vis-à-vis* the urban ghetto dweller, one must understand the values that are deeply ingrained in him by the time he becomes a policeman, usually at the age of twenty-one at the earliest. As critically important as ethnic, religious, and other cultural distinctions may be, experience indicates that, even in racially and ethnically homogeneous societies, there exists a chasm between the police and the ghetto community. Thus, I cannot subscribe to the theory that an increase in the number of black and Puerto Rican policemen will, of and by itself, act as the sought-after panacea. Clearly, we have a critical need for more black and Puerto Rican policemen so long as they maintain an identification with the ghetto community and its problems, a wish to provide a forum within the police department for recognition of those cultural values that may differ from the prevailing mores of the larger society, and a genuine and continuing desire to see those communities develop and advance. Given the proper training and definition of their duties and responsibilities, they can exert a major influence on the essential communication between the police and the ghetto communities. But that is only one ele-

ment, albeit an essential one, in the process of increasing the professional caliber and effectiveness of the police department.

The blue-collar values of the person who becomes a policeman are basically uncomplicated, sincere, earthy, and deeply held norms revolving around the individual, the family, and the immediately surrounding community. The blue-collar ego responds subjectively and emotionally to perceived situations, unlike the professional ego, which, in varying degrees, maintains an objective, detached, and, in so many instances, alienated facade. The blue-collar individual sees the world in terms of people and situations with which he can identify. There are good guys and good acts, bad guys and bad acts. The professional person sees the world basically in terms of principles and ideas. He is essentially unemotional. There are, of course, a great number of emotional and intellectual factors which differentiate the blue-collar culture from the professional culture and which, perhaps, merit a great deal more study in defining what and who a policeman is.

Thus, it seems to me, when we are speaking about the police force we are dealing basically with a blue-collar work force, yet we are demanding that this force act as a "professional" élite corps. I am not sure that under existing conditions that is possible. Judge Edwards obviously recognizes this rather critical factor when he declares:

Consideration should be given to a National Police College—a four-year degree-granting institution organized, staffed and financed somewhat like West Point. Qualified young men who are prepared to commit themselves to law enforcement careers should be appointed to this school

at no cost to themselves. They might be drawn from local law enforcement ranks or from the ranks of high-school graduates. A National Police College would supply a corps of professional police officers highly qualified to fill local police leadership posts in future decades.

Such a college might serve not only as a vehicle for imparting expertise in police work, but also as a device for integrating the blue-collar and professional cultural factors that would be necessary for a professional police department. Undeniably, among other things, colleges and professional schools subtly convert the student from reliance on subjective perceptions to the development of objective professional responses. One approach might be to consider specialized high schools specifically teaching youngsters to become policemen.

Thus, if we are to demand greater professionalization in our police officers, we must examine methods for imparting to them the factors recognized as attributes of a profession. The background of the person who becomes a policeman is of the most critical nature and requires further study.

LUIS M. NECO

Deputy Commissioner,  
Police Department, City of New York

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*The Detroit Riot of 1967, Hubert G. Locke.* Pp. 160. Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1969. \$6.50.

This is another of the many books that have flooded the market since the start, in the early 1960's, of civil disturbances in American urban ghettos. Given the background of the author, this particular entry could have been an outstanding book. Hubert